DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 193 415 CE 025 088

AUTHOR Rubenson, Kjell
TITLE Recruitment to Adult Education in the Nordic Countries--Research and Outreaching Activities.
INSTITUTION Stockholm Inst. of Education (Sweden).
PUB DATE 79
NOTE 26p.: Paper presented at ICAE's and the Swedish National Federation of Adult Educational Associations' Conference on Research in Adult Education (Kungalv, Sweden, June 25-27, 1979).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adult Education: Educationally Disadvantaged: *Educational Research: Literature Reviews: *Outreach Programs: Research Design: Research Methodology: Student Recruitment: Training Allowances
IDENTIFIERS *Nordic Countries

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a review of the research in adult education recruitment and an overview of current outreach activities in adult education in Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. The author identifies three general trends of research in adult education: (1) studies aimed at describing participants in adult education: (2) studies aimed at comparing participants and non-participants with respect to various characteristics: and (3) studies concentrating on the target group, i.e., the underprivileged. He provides a paradigm of research on recruitment in adult education, and correlates the research concerning adult education participants with work life and study opportunities. He then describes the Nordic FOVUX outreaching program, pegging its success to three factors: selectivity concerning who was approached as a possible participant in adult education: advantageous study conditions (training allowances): and the way the activity was carried out. He also describes other approaches to outreaching activities such as programs in housing areas and at work-places. A bibliography is included. (KC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Kjell Rubenson

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

ED193415

CE025088

RECRUITMENT TO ADULT EDUCATION IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES - RESEARCH AND OUTREACHING ACTIVITIES

PAPER PRESENTED AT ICAE's AND THE SWEDISH NATIONAL FEDERATION OF ADULT EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS' CONFERENCE ON RESEARCH IN ADULT EDUCATION, JUNE 25-27 1979, KUNGÄLV, SWEDEN

KJELL RUBENSON

STOCKHOLM INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, 100 26 STOCKHOLM 34, SWEDEN

INTRODUCTION

The continuously growing interest, in the Nordic countries as in others, in recruitment to adult education is a relatively new phenomenon. During the fifties' and sixties' radical reforms in primary, secondary and higher education very little or no attention was paid to recruitment to adult education. Only later - in fact at a point in time when much of the great educational optimism of the sixties has been gnawed away - does recruitment to adult education gain prominence.

This late interest can be contrasted with the fact that during the whole of this century adult education has had a significant role in the Nordic countries. Thus, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries adult popular education began to acquire an increasingly established form. The folk high school was founded first in Denmark and then, some decades later, in the other Nordic countries too - workers' institutes and lecture institutes spread and finally the modern study circle movement emerges. Thus a characteristic feature of Nordic adult education is that at a very early stage there is a broad, integrated and well-organized adult education associated with the large popular movements in society.

One of the distinctive features of popular adult education is that it is to be free and voluntary. By freedom is meant the independent standing of the voluntary educational associations in relation to official authority levels. Having adopted a parsimonious attitude to these associations during many years, society has taken over the financial responsibility to a greater and greater extent during the post-war years. How the freedom is to be maintained in view of the increasingly large economic dependence on society has therefore become one of the most fundamental issues within the voluntary educational associations today.

In order to understand the increased interest in recruitment issues it is not enough to point to the sharply rising state subsidies. It is important to emphasize that the associations have increasingly begun to be seen as an integrated part of the adult education sector. Thus during the seventies they have come to be used directly as an instrument for achieving the overall goals of educational policy.

Parallel with the integration of the voluntary associations into general educational policy, new opportunities for competence-oriented adult education are being created both at a level corresponding to the comprehensive and upper secondary schools as well as within higher education.

Whether adult education is used as an integrated part of a country's total over all educational policy or not affects the standing and direction of research on adult education. In the Nordic countries we can notice that the changed status of adult education is followed by a sharp rise in the resources for R & D. In Norway a special institute for R & D in the field of adult education was established 1976. The development of adult education's share of the Swedish National Board of Education's (NBE) R & D grants has increased from 8 percent 1972 to 20 percent 1978/79. Corresponding trends can be detected in the other Nordic countries.

During the heyday of research into adult education in the seventies one question is to the fore i.e. recruitment. The interest for recruitment is connected to the fact that equality has come to be the overwhelming goal, as expressed in official documents, in all types of adult education. The aim of the allocation policy is directed towards an equalization of the actual living conditions, i.e. economical, political, social and cultural resources (Broström & Ekeroth, 1977).

The purpose of this paper is to report briefly on the drift and the principal results from R & D concerning recruitment. I have to apologize to my Nordic colleagues for the strong Swedish bias in the paper. This is due first of all to the authors ignorance but also to the fact that up to now there has been somewhat more research conducted in Sweden.

The presentation will be divided into two main sections: research concerning recruitment, and experience from experiments carried out from outreaching activities.

RESEARCH

General trends

Research hitherto can be divided into three main categories:

1) Studies aimed at describing participants in a certain type of adult education.

2) Studies aimed at comparing participants and non-participants with respect to various characteristics.

3) Studies concentrating on the target group i.e. the underprivileged.

In table 1 I have tried to group a few larger projects according to these categories.

Tabel 1. Trends in research on recruitment

	1 Studies aimed at describing the participation in a certain type of adult education	2 Studies aimed at comparing participants and non-participants	3 Studies focusing on the target group
Denmark	Carpens & Jacobsen (1976)	Bunnage & Hedegaard (1978)	
Finland		Lehtonen & Tuomisto (1975)	
Norway	Finstad & Hansen (1976)	Haukaa (1976) Statisk sentralbyrå (1976) Knudsen & Skaalvik (1979)	Kallerud (1977)
Sweden	Lekberg & Lekberg (1971) Molander & Johansson (1969)	Molander (1973) SCB (1978) Johansson & Ekerwald (1976) Broström & Ekeroth (1977)	Rubenson m fl (1977) "The everyday learning" project (final report in press)

Judging from the Nordic projects it seems that the respective countries follow a development from 1-3. Descriptions of those who participate lead to questions on the way these differ from those who do not participate. Comparative studies usually focus on differences between various sub-groups such as different social classes, well educated and under-educated, younger and older. Departing from these results as an overall description of the situation a more dynamic approach is possible. The focus is now on the total living situations of the target groups and where adult education fits into their situation.

It appears from table 1 that, up to now, all three stages have been carried out primarily in Sweden. This can be explained by the fact that here adult education has been integrated in the general educational policy somewhat earlier and the distributional political goal has been brought about with greater force.

Another way to classify individual research projects or the situation in different fields of research is to look at the degree of social urgency and intradisciplinary importance.

Social urgency

Official documents from Parliament, Government commissions, authorities etc clearly show that not only has adult education been integrated into the general educational policy of the Nordic countries but it also constitutes one of the high priority areas in the education sector (Denmark, U 90, vol 1, 1978; Finland, The Committee on Adult education, 1975:28; Norway, The Adult education law, 1975-76:7, Sweden, the Adult education Bill, 1970:35).

On the strength of the above references, I believe the studies that have been made concerning recruitment questions to be of a very high degree of social[x] urgency. Considering this, let us look a bit closer on what kind of R & D that is of interest.

Here it can be useful to talk about information needs on two interacting levels. The first consists of the local level i.e. local authority, individual school, individual co-ordinator of education - where teaching is actually carried out. The other consists of the central level, where the overall responsibility for the fulfillment of the political intentions lies.

Considerable demands are made that educational research should give immediate results and solutions to all the problems which practitioners are faced with. By administrators and within the teaching profession the research projects are often criticized for not fulfilling this purpose. Whether correctly or incorrectly, the protests seem to be especially pronounced by representatives of adult education. However it is the authors view that the discussion about what is and what is not useful research has

x) "Society" as the term is understood here mainly includes the official bodies which, one way or another, influence the direction of education policy and are responsible for the implementation of the decisions taken by the Government and Riksdag (= Parliament).

not paid sufficient attention to the fact that different information is needed at the local vis-à-vis the central level. Thus, the redistributive policy goal of adult education do not only give rise to demand for R & D by means of which technical solutions can be found to carry out the adult educational reforms. A important task should also be to analyze the goals themselves more closely. A major aspect is to acquire a better understanding of how measures within the adult education sector can be expected to affect recruitment. To do this we have to pay attention to alternative lines of development in society and to point out unforeseeable developments, depending among other things on goal and interest conflicts within adult education and the rest of the education system and between adult education and the surrounding society.

If we choose to look upon research into recruitment in this broad way, it follows that we must accept that a significant proportion of the research is probably of no great importance to the individual practitioner. On the other hand, it also follows that measures at the local level can be successful without necessarily having to be perceived as relevant when seen from a more central research perspective.

Intradisciplinary importance

The degree of intradisciplinary importance depends among other things on whether the research opens up new scientific territory, poses new questions concerning old problems, confirms previously tentative findings, and creates or refines new methods. Research of little intradisciplinary importance is not necessarily bad research. Presentations of facts and conclusions can be correct, of good quality, and also important in relation to the degree of social urgency.

I have argued elsewhere (Rubenson, 1976) that research into adult education recruitment is marked by the lack of analytical approaches. Studies have been mainly concerned with describing who takes part in adult education, particularly with regard to different statistical background factors such as age, education and social status. More often than not, researchers have been content to describe their own findings without relating them to the findings which have emerged from comparable investigations.

However, in the last few years it has been possible to notice in the different Nordic countries the beginnings of efforts not only to describe but also to explain (see e.g. Lehtonen & Tuomisto, 1976; Rubenson, 1976; Broström & Ekeroth, 1977; Knudsen & Skaalvik, 1979).

The stress has been on integrating the research on adult education with educational research in general by proceeding from theories of a more general character. In this way research into adult education should be stimulated; in view of the low status it, by all rights, has within educational research this is highly desirable.

Overall recruitment figures

In table 2 the recruitment to some different forms of adult education is shown. Due to different methods of classifying the material and varying time-periods it is difficult to make comparisons between the countries. It should also be noted that the statistical figures which appear are somewhat uncertain.

Table 2. Participants in some different forms of adult education.

	Total	Voluntary educational association	Competence oriented adult education	In-service education
Denmark Bunnage & Hedegaard (1978) refers to ages 20+ who participated 1975	33	16	3	
Norway Knudsen & Skaalvik (1979) refers to participants August 1977 - May 1978	24	15,5		11
Finland Lehtonen & Tuomisto (1975) refers to participants 1971-72	20			
Sweden SCB (1978) refers to ages 16-74+ who participated 1974	(32	13[1] (c 18)	1,4 (3)	5[2])

[1] The figures for Sweden are probably too low. Another C.B.S. figure shows that the number for municipal adult education should be about 3 percent. The figures for the study associations are also too low. In 1974 there were approx. 2,5 million circle participants. However, this number does not refer to physical persons as one and the same person can be included several times depending on the number of courses in which he/she participates. At a guess the true value is approximately 17 - 18 percent.

[2] A total of 27 percent of the employed participated in some courses during working hours.

Unfortunately I cannot judge the accuracy of the information from the other countries.

As can be seen from table 2 the voluntary educational associations occupy a special position. To illustrate the enormous expansion which has taken place in these associations the development in Sweden during the period 1931-1977 is shown in tabel 3.

Tabel 3. The activity of the voluntary educational associations in Sweden 1931-1977.

Year	No. of circles	No. of circle participants
1931/32	7 440	97 343
1941/42	14 114	167 817
1951/52	33 482	346 117
1961/62	87 060	882 777
1971/72	203 423	2 005 741
1977/78	321 200	2 997 100

In what way have the increased opportunities to adult education influenced the distribution of education among different groups in the society?

It is almost an axiom that investigations reach the conclusion that the participation of the various sections of the population in adult education is very diverse. The Nordic studies - based on representative samples - are no exception here. The classic correlations between age - participation and educational/social group - participation, consistently emerges (Lehtonen & Tuomisto, 1975; Molander, 1973; Bunnage & Hedegaard, 1978; SCB, 1978; Knudsen & Skaalvik, 1979). Contrary to the overall goal, the expanded system of adult education has thus served to increase the differences within as well as between generations in these countries. In order to get a base for analysing the development a paradigm of recruitment is presented.

A paradigm of recruitment in adult education

The paradigm presented in figure 1 should not be seen as an overall theory of recruitment but rather as a starting point for the interpretation and collation of previous research.

The criticism of existing attempts at theoretical structures concerns among other things the fact that they have centred on the individual to too great an extent (Lehtonen & Tuomisto, 1974; Knudsen & Skaalvik, 1979). However, only having a point of departure on the macro level e.g. social class would be to deny the differences which have been demonstrated within different social strata. Thus a paradigm of recruitment in adult education has to consider the micro as well as macro level; i.e. structural conditions and the individual's psychological conceptual apparatus and, in addition the link between these levels.

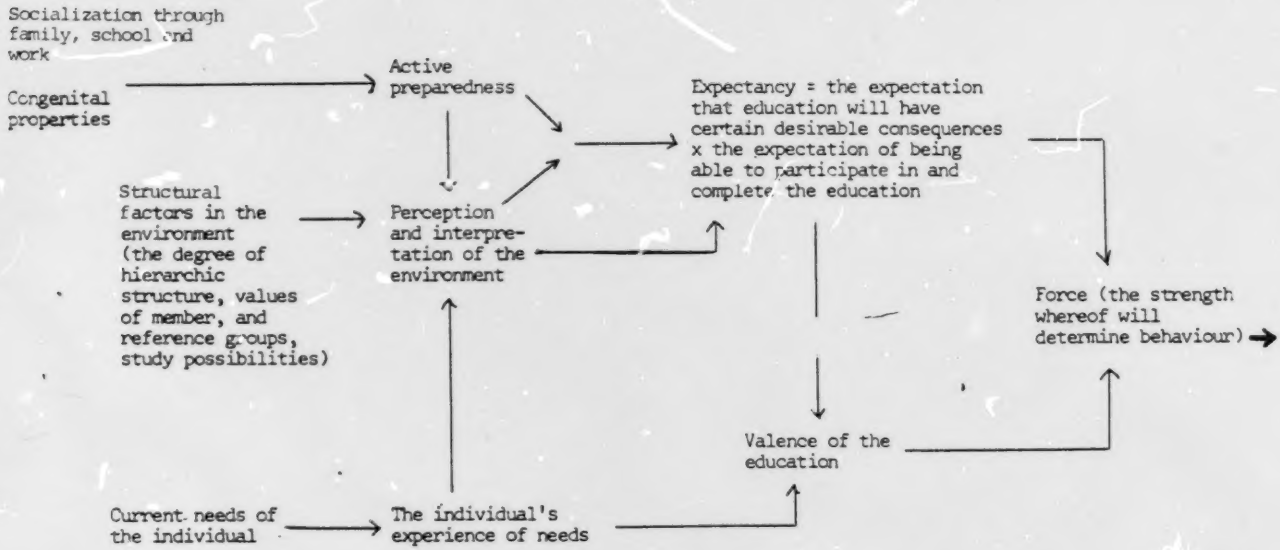
Socialization through family, school and work
Congenital properties
Active preparedness
Expectancy = the expectation that education will have certain desirable consequences x the expectation of being able to participate in and complete the education
Structural factors in the environment (the degree of hierarchic structure, values of member, and reference groups, study possibilities)
Perception and interpretation of the environment
Force (the strength whereof will determine behaviour)
Valence of the education
Current needs of the individual
The individual's experience of needs

Figure 1 : Paradigm of recruitment in adult education

We must have a conceptual apparatus that relates the structural factors to the individual factors. The paradigm presented here should be seen as an effort in this direction.

The individuals psychological apparatus - i.e. the individual's decision making process - is represented by the so-called expectancy-valency theory. This is a cognitive motivational model which is mainly based on Kurt Levin and Tolman's work. However knowledge about how the individual interprets the psychological field, which forms the central thesis of this theory, cannot by itself give an understanding of recruitment. Only when we also include the structural factors and analyze the interaction between these and the individual's conceptual apparatus does an interpretation become possible.

Thus in the paradigm, participation in adult education is regarded as a function of the individual's interpretation of the psychological field - as it has developed through interaction with structural factors in society.

Through the socialization which has taken place within the family, the school and occupational life, individuals have developed an attitude and approach to among other things different forms of adult education; here regarded as a hypothetical variable reflecting the degree of active preparedness.

Concerning the structural factors, the focus of attention is on factors in the current environment which may conceivably stimulate or inhibit participation. I have argued elsewhere (Rubenson, 1976) that the degree of hierarchic structure in the environment and the values of the member and reference groups appear to be of central importance. Another influential factor is the study possibilities, e.g. admissions policies, financial aid system, offer, information etc. Of course there are other factors which, to varying extents, influence the participation of different groups. Hierarchic structure, the member and reference groups and study possibilities, however, appear to be of general significance and have therefore been accorded special status in the paradigm.

The other main component comprises the current needs of the individual, which among other things reflect his material situation and the development tasks confronting the individual during his life cycle.

Like all paradigms, that presented in Figure 1 is a simplified image of reality. Quite naturally, the three groups of independent variables - active preparedness, structural factors, and current needs - are not mutually independent.

Recruitment cannot always be explained directly on the basis of the actual situation; without taking into account how this situation is interpreted. In the paradigm this is shown by the two levels of intermediate variables. The first level comprises active preparedness, perception, and interpretation of the structural factors and experienced needs. In the paradigm it is shown how these three determine valence and expectancy, which then result in a force whose strengtn decides behaviour.

Using the paradigm as starting point I shall very briefly turn to recent research to try to give an explanation to why adult education up to now has increased rather then decreased the educational gap and further point to some necessary prerequisites in order to change the development.

Prerequisities for gaining allocation effects through adult education

Active preparedness

How are we to account for the fact that educational level consistently shows the highest correlation with participation in adult education? To some extent of course, it depends on the fact that the highly-educated are often in occupational positions which offer opportunities of participation in different forms of education (see e.g. SCB, 1978, p 240). The Nordic material shows, however, that the differences are very large even where non-competence-giving adult education is concerned (SCB, 1978, p. 147; Bunnage & Hedegaard, p 69; Knudsen & Skaalvik, 1979).

This can be explained by the socialization which has taken place within the family, the school system and, later on, in working life. This has resulted in adult education becoming a part of the value system of certain groups but not of other groups. Participation in non-competence giving adult education thus has been shown to be a part of a leisure style consisting of cultural activities - which is most usually found in the middle and upper classes (Bergsten, 1977, p 136; Knudsen & Skaalvik, 1979, p 36).

In public debate the school is often pointed out as the major villain. However, it is not very fruitful to concentrate on experienced comfort and well-being in order to explain the school's influence on subsequent participation in adult education. Interest ought instead to be directed towards existing trends in educational sociology where the purpose is to clarify what functions the school has in society and to analyze how the curriculum and the teaching process transfer value systems to individuals (see e.g. Lundgren, 1979). In parenthesis it can be mentioned that analyses of the education system and its functions in society have not, in fact, taken any interest in the adult education sector (see Karabel & Halsey, 1977). Where the Scandinavian countries, for instance, are concerned it is probably impossible to analyze correctly the role of education regarding e.g. the division of power in society without looking, at the same time, at what part the popular education has played. However, this is an aspect which is not in the scope of this paper. Active preparedness does not decide participation in adult education deterministically but acts in combination with the structural conditions in the environment.

Structural factors

As Knudsen and Skaalvik (1979, p 16) stress in their analysis of the Norwegian material, structural factors tend to strengthen previously established inequalities. So if we look at the paradigm we see it is those with a high degree of active preparedness who are in environments which give them scope for influencing their situation (i.e. a low degree of hierarchic structure). Their member and reference groups are often positive to adult education, and moreover they have - relatively - the best access to education.

If for a moment we regard the differences in active preparedness as constant (of course they also change in a changing surrounding world) the question is what changes can be achieved concerning structural factors and what significance these ultimately have in counteracting the accumulated difference with time which has been established? I shall touch upon two areas, working life and study possibilities. I return to the third structural factor in the paradigm, member and reference groups, in connection with outreaching activities (see below p. 17).

Working life

In the literature on the psychology of work results can be found which point to a link between technological changes and an individual's attitude to different activities e.g. education. In the Commission on Low Incomes both quantitative and qualitative differences in life-pattern were established between those with good and bad working conditions - good and bad with respect to 'sweat, dirt and physical exhaustion' (Lundahl, 1971). Meissner (1971) succeeded in demonstrating a direct correlation between job design and the individual's life outside of work. When the scope for personal initiative on the job is limited by factors in the work process, individual's ability to participate during their leisure time in activities which made such demands seemed to decrease. A corresponding tendency emerged concerning the effect of work with limited opportunities for social contact. The author (Meissner, 1971, p 260) asserts therefore:

> "In my view the findings here indicate that, when questions are put which are designed to find out what people actually do with their time and if they have control over the space, time, and function of their work, the job has a long arm indeed."

When employers are given increased influence over their own work - micro-political changes - they show a greater interest in participating in decision-making processes. Changes also influence their leisure-time activities and lead to more active leisure (Gardell, 1976, Bergsten, 1977). In this context I want to refere to Knudsen and Skaalvik who present a strong correlation between an individual's possibility of controlling his situation and his participation in adult education.

Table 4. Percentage who have taken part in a leisure time course, distributed by possibility of controlling one's own life. After Knudsen & Skaalvik, 1979, p. 33.

	Educational level	
Degree of control	Compulsory education	Post-compulsory education
high	15	26
medium	11	18
low	7	14
x^2	17.73 d.f. = 2 $p < 0.001$	$x^2 = 39.76$ d.f = 2 $p < 0.001$

I can see two parallel lines of development in adult education referring to changes in working life. If we disregard the education given in companies' industrial schools, it is, today, mainly white collar groups who have the possibility of gaining a broader education through companies (SOU 1977: 92, p. 11 f). However, if far-reaching reforms within working life come about, a broader general education for more groups will be required (cf Skard, 1977). This may take place to a great extent in direct association with work-places. Another development which can be expected is a stronger coupling between gainful employment and the education society offers. We

now seem to be in route to a situation where the education provided by society is linked more closely to employment e.g. when the right to paid leave for studies and increased elements of general education within the framework of personnel training are gained through negotiation.

It has to be pointed out that where the link between the possibilities of realising the redistributive goals of adult education and industrial democracy we must not yield to rhetoric but must follow developments closely. The studies, which the Swedish CBS has carried out continuously since the autumn of 1974, of living conditions - the so-called ULF statistics - give us unique possibilities of shedding light on these questions.

Study possibilities

In the theoretical considerations underlying the sketch in Figure 1 participation is very much dependent on whether the individual sees any value in education, i.e. whether he expects through education to meet the demands made by him, thereby influencing his own situation. One of the explanations of why education has not had the hoped for equalizing effects is, that the advantaged groups have steered provision to too great an extent. This is due to the lack of a precise statement of goals concerning what forms and what educational content can work for redistributive policy, what groups' living-standards are to be levelled out etc (Broström & Ekeroth, 1977). A study of interest in this context is Finstad and Hansen's analysis of recruitment to Workers voluntary educational association. This study shows that even an organization with pronounced redistributive policy ambitions has a provision which corresponds best to the demands of the advantaged (Finstad & Hansen, 1976). One contributing factor is the general character of the subsidies which has made it difficult for organisations who seek to obtain allocation effects. As they could not compensate for the increased costs involved in recruiting the underprivileged, they have been forced to concentrate on other groups.

The fact that recruitment problems must not be seen only as a question of how information about the existing provision is to be supplied is underlined by the results of a survey of study needs and study obstacles among under-educated (Rubenson et al., 1977).

In spite of the availability of the wide selection of courses that was offered a large group stated that they had no opportunities of studying the course they desired. An examination of the actual provision shows that these statements are not entirely referable to ignorance of opportunities; they also reflect deficiences in the range of opportunities.

The most revealing finding, bearing in mind that the subjects of this study were under-educated persons, was the great interest which people took in education relating to their present occupations. The data show that this type of interest is not mainly to be regarded as a bid for advancement but rather as the manifestation of a need to master more thoroughly the tasks with which one is confronted, even though one can already cope with them satisfactorily. This may be due to a desire for greater job satisfaction or else to an apprehension of failure.

To meet the needs it was suggested that the existing programmes should be supplemented by study circles connected to the work role which can help participants to view their work situation in a broader context as well as supplying them with vocational knowledge. The study associations would have to show an interest not only in liberal and union education but also in occupationally-related educational programmes.

Experiments carried out within the Workers Educational Association on basis of these results show that through occupationally related study circles it was possible to recruit persons who had never previously considered participating.

Structural changes of the kind discussed here could compensate to some extent for a low degree of active preparedness - caused by the earlier process of socialization. The paradigm does not give a static picture i.e. changes in working life can change the degree of active preparedness.

One of the attempts being made to bring about a change is to help by personal contacts (outreaching activities) the target group to analyze their relation to adult education.

OUTREACHING ACTIVITIES

Few, if any, Nordic adult educational experiments have aroused as much attention internationally as the experimental programme FÖVUX pursued with outreaching activity. Trying to interest people in adult education through personal contact is, of course, not new; on the contrary, it has a long history in Nordic popular adult education. The new feature which arrived with FÖVUX is that the outreaching activity is given a more established form and organization on the basis of earmarked state funds to act as a recruitment model (SOU 1974:54).

The FÖVUX activity was followed by a gigantic experimental activity not only in Sweden but also in the other Nordic countries; so far especially in Denmark. To give an idea of the multitude of projects which must have been carried out I can mention that the Swedish National Board of Education's research programme in housing areas '76 - '78 included no less than 136 local projects (NBE 1978-08-30).

Despite - or perhaps more correctly thanks to - the extent of the outreaching activity it is well-nigh impossible - except in a few instances like FÖVUX - to get a coherent picture of the experience gained. From each and every one of the local projects in, for example, the NBE's experiemntal programme there is a small report. However, in view of the disposition these have been given, it is difficult to draw any more coherent and general conclusions.

I do not take up this aspect out of any wish to criticize the NBE; rather, the intention is to point to the difficulties which exist when - completely correctly in my view- a locally based experimental programme is carried out. Bearing in mind that large experimental programmes are on their way in different countries I want to stress the need for analytical and co-ordinating ability in the central steering group.

However, despite the difficulties I have indicated I shall try to take up some fundamental aspects concerning outreaching activity and try as far as possible to relate the results available to these issues. The point of departure is that outreaching activity - as has been stated in various official documents - is a selective method, based on personal contact, by means of which we want to achieve redistributive effects i.e. recruit disadvantaged groups.

The first question which appears is, of course, how effective the method has turned out to be. In table 5 the results from some Swedish experiments have been compiled. It is important to stress that we must be careful about making any direct comparisons of these results as the circumstances surrounding them are very different. In fact it is only when we bring these into the picture that a comparison becomes interesting.

As is evident from table 5 FÖVUX has been considerably more successful than all the other experiments. Three factors have contributed to this:

certain selectivity concerning who was approached

advantageous study conditions[1)]

the way the activity was carried on.

As a warning for and a criticism of the FÖVUX result it is sometimes stressed that the selection which took place at the places of work was made in such a way that especially those who could be expected to study were contacted. The results from the first year of the experiment give this criticism some support as there was a negative correlation between the proportion interested and the proportion contacted at the place of work. However, in the material from subsequent years this inverse correlation does not appear. This, as well as the fact that 64 % of those recruited in the first year had never previously participated in any form of studies after comprehensive school, indicates that the good recruitment results cannot be dismissed on methodological grounds.

---

1) The FÖVUX investigation was not conducted primarily to test outreaching activities, but was set up with the more far-reaching aim of applying flexible studying arrangements and various other measures to encourage the participation of those adults who, owing to social, psychological and geographical reasons, are not now enrolled in any kind of adult education programme. The target individuals could choose between different enrolement conditions (studies divided between working hours and spare time, spare-time studies with 300 kronor in incentive allowance, or spare-time studies without such an allowance). No charge was made for the courses or the materials used in them. In addition, financial assistance was payable to compensate for the extra cost of travel, meals and childminding incurred by course attendance. These conditions are distinctly better than what could be offered in other experiments. The effects on recruitment of study conditions and study support have been investigated. The possibility of studying half-time during working hours also seems to have had a relatively large effect on recruitment. More than half the selected participants, who were offered this study condition, replied that it had been of great importance when they registered for their studies. On the other hand, the incentive allowance had no tangible recruitment effect. Furthermore study support, in this case principally compensation for child-minding or collectively organized baby-sitting, seems to have been of some importance at recruitment among women working in the home. For other groups study support had little or no importance.

Table 5. Experiences from a few Swedish experiments with outreaching activities.

	N c	Proportion the study agent talked to	Proportion interested	Proportion beginning a course	Time per visit $\bar{x}$ minutes	Cost per contact (Sw crowns)	Cost per conversation	Education for the study agent, days
FOVUX (study circles in priority subjects, average result per year)	(total) 4000	-[1]	50	40	45	20	40	5
The Kronoberg project (study circles, municipal adult education and higher education)	1600		38	-	-	-	-	-
NBE 1973 comprehensive school studies in municipal adult education and priority circles		33	14	7	7	10	30	1/2
SAMVUX (no courses offered directly)	2400	73	20	-	24	40	55	5
NBE research programme in housing areas (study circles)								1/2-3
(NBE 1977-08-31) year 2	40000	-	18	13	21	-	-	
(NBE 1978-08-30) year 3	60000	-	23	18	31	-	-	

[1] Data not available.

On account of the special supportive measures which occured it is, of course, impossible to distinguish clearly the significance of outreaching activity. However, interviews with those affected show that many probably would not have participated if they had not been contacted in the way they were. In connection to the outreaching activities of FOVUX - as of all the other experiments - the following factors, among others are of interest:

Level of ambition

Where the activity is carried out and by whom

The coordination between different study agents

In the following these aspects are dealt with from a more general angle.

Level of ambition

The fundamental dividing line goes between outreaching activity as a short-term tool for recruitment and as a long-term instrument for giving the individual as fair a chance as possible of judging whether he/she should commence some form of studies. Take experiment 3 in table 5; this is a typical example of an informative form of outreaching activity. In these earlier, experiments in housing areas the principal interest was to inform about a particular provision with the aim of recruiting people. Moreover, the time available was so short that on average only 7 minutes could be devoted to each visit. This procedure could really be regarded as 'a verbalized brochure method'. Those who can profit from it are people who already have high study inclinations and many of them would register anyway.

Here I want to refer briefly to a longitudinal study of obstacles to participate in adult education (Rubenson, 1975). The design allowed the investigator to examine study obstacles in the light of both previous intentions and actual participation. When obstacles were studied in this way, it was observed that environmental obstacles, in particular "too little information", were - relatively - strong deterrents among those who wished to participate but did not. In addition it was noted that those who did participate could often be recognized by the infrequency with which they reported psychological obstacles prior to recruitment, while those who were not interested and did not participate were conspicuous by the emphasis they placed upon such groups of factors, as "the education is of no value", and "uncertainty in the face of the studies".

Judging from these results the informative model for outreaching activity can be successful only where those who were interested but had not taken part are concerned. However to reach the target group the ambition has to be much higher than was the case in experiment 3.

In the SAMVUX project (experiment 4 in table 5) outreaching activity has been analyzed from a redistributive policy perspective (Broström & Ekeroth, 1976). The authors stress that the fundamental idea should not be to recruit as many as possible in the short term. Instead the study organizer should, apart from giving a comprehensive picture of adult education, also start a contact which could be regarded as the first step in a process which may eventually lead to recruitment. This means a departure from the short-term campaigns which have mainly dominated the activity.

Today it has become popular to agree with the ideas of SAMVUX. However, as far as the author is aware the "long-term model" has never really been tried. To a great extent the experiments still proceed more according to a campaign model. The explanation is not insufficient will, but the fact that the funds for the activity are allocated in such a way that long-term experiments are made difficult or completely impossible.

The change that has taken place in recent years is a transition from more informative to communicative outreaching activities. If we look at the summary in table 5, we see, for instance, that the NBE in its more recent experiments has given considerably more time than previously. Existing reports from the study organizers also show that they are now faced with new and difficult situations in the role of 'therapist'.

The statistical data indicate - perhaps completely according to expectations - that with the longer time it has been possible to get more people in the target group interested. The FOVUX success as it appears in table 5, is,apart from the favourable study conditions, a consequence of the high level of ambition, i.e. abundant time, well-educated study organizers etc.

The ambition of outreaching work at the local level is depending on how the goals of educational policy, as they are formulated by Parliament and Government, are interpreted. Characteristically these goals are vague and often contradictory. As a result of this lack of clarity the tendency at lower levels is to give old procedures new names more in time with the new tunes. Thus one of the lessons from the SAMVUX project is that, at the local level the goals of educational policy and the consequences these ought to have for the activity have not been analyzed sufficiently (Broström & Ekeroth, 1976). An important feature is thus that the training of project leaders and study organizers is not, as is often the case, limited to a single day, but that scope is provided for a more comprehensive effort.

The design of the subsidy system is probably the strongest tool of directing the level of ambition. A general character of the subsidies makes it difficult for organisations who seek to obtain allocation effects. As they can not compensate for the increased costs involved in recruiting the underprivileged, they will be forced to concentrate on other groups.

Different forms of outreaching activity

It is usual to distinguish between outreaching activity in housing areas and at work-places. In the Kronoberg Project (no 2 in table 5) as well as in FUVUX the main part of the activity has been conducted at work-places.[x] Judging from the number of recruited it is obvious that greatest successes have been achieved at work-places. Several interacting factors contribute to this.

In housing areas the study organizers quite simply do not get hold of everyone. Another reason is that the groups who are outside the labour market are often the really disadvantaged and hard-to-recruit groups. Particularly exposed groups are people on early retirement pensions and the long-term unemployed. Other groups are immigrants, the handicapped and those working in the home.

A fundamental difference is that the contact within housing areas is directed at individuals while contact at the work-place is collective. On this point I will refer to Newcomb (1950, p. 225f), who introduced the concepts of member and reference groups. According to Newcomb, the former type is a group of which the person is an acknowledged member, e.g. the family, or political or religious groups. The individual shares the norms of the group not only because he is acknowledged but also because he has learned to satisfy his needs on the basis of the commonly accepted norms. Often, however, one learns to utilize norms from other groups of which one is not an acknowledged member. This is why Newcomb believes it is fruitful to distinguish between member groups and reference groups. We may assume that all member groups serve as reference groups, one way or another, while on the other hand not all reference groups serve as member groups. Brunner (1959) touches on the relation between participation in adult education and the norms of member groups, and he refers to a study by Houle (1947), which showed that education programmes based on the interests of individuals reached smaller numbers of people than those which were based on the pattern of values in the group. Thus it was found that the course preferences of the persons consulted were determined more by the values of the group than by individual interests.

---

x) Outreaching activities at work-places are possible in Sweden on account of the labour marked legislation, which gives the trade unions the possibility of pursuing the activity during working hours. Outreaching activity in housing areas still takes place in the form of an experimental programme for which the NBE is responsible. The voluntary education associations apply to the NBE for projects; the board is responsible for evaluation. Where work-places are concerned Parliament decided in 1975 that the regional adult education committees should be responsible for funds which would be put at the disposal of the trade unions. In recent years funds have also been allocated to the farmers' and the fishermens' associations as well as to the craftworkers'.

Through different reforms in Sweden it has been possible to link outreaching activity directly to the Laws on the Right to Leave of Absence and for Studies and Study Assistance so as to be able to offer as favourable a study situation as possible. However, it turns out that it was often difficult to exploit existing legal opportunities. This was particularly true of small work-places where people often stressed that their workmates would land up in difficulties (the Kronoberg Project, December 1977, p 73).

The working group, regarded as a member group, has traditionally constituted a strong pressure group among manual workers. It has been shown that adult education - as it has developed - is a part of the upper and middle classes' value systems but conflicts partly with the values of the working class (cf. p 9). The success of e.g. FMVUX depends partly on the fact that the outreaching activity has included the overwhelming majority of the work group thus affecting not only the individual but also one of his most significant member-groups.

For obvious reasons, it is more difficult to build on the target group's member and reference groups where outreaching activity in housing areas is concerned. However, this is possible to some extent. Thus the Government's terms of reference for the NBE's experimental programme in housing areas contains a point about the outreaching activity having to take place in co-operation with organizations and about special attention having to be paid to those working in the home, immigrants and the handicapped. It is difficult to determine from the NBE's evaluation what effects this has had. However, in the cases where co-operation has taken place it is stressed that housing, immigrant and handicap organizations have played an important role (NBE 1978-08-30, p 9). This has been particularly true of the immigrant organizations without whose co-operation it would have been very difficult to reach out.

Co-ordination

As society has become more and more actively involved not only in education leading to formal qualifications but also in popular adult education, demands for the co-ordination of information activities have grown stronger and stronger. However, while this has been happening, the voluntary education organizations have been putting considerable emphasis on developing distinctive images in relation to one another; they have also jointly adopted a partly dismissive attitude to the sector for education leading to formal qualifications. So the situation is not particularly favourable as far as increased co-operation in outreaching activiites, for instance, is concerned.

Within both the Kronoberg Project and SAMVUX, models for joint information and recruitment activity have been tested. Kronoberg was a joint project with different central authorities and the trade unions. Thus it has support at the highest possible level - which among other things probably explains why it was possible to get the different organizers of adult education to agree on joint information. The experience of the SAMVUX Project, however, is considerably more negative. Further NBE's evaluation shows that the individual voluntary education organizations only presented their own provision and only obtained information on e.g. education leading to formal qualifications in response to direct inquiries. A similar split can be observed in the Danish experimental programme (cf. Mörch-Jacobsen, 1979). Without strong central support it thus seems to be difficult to achieve any far-reaching attempts at co-ordination locally.

A critical reflection

Despite the good results achieved in several of the experiments with outreaching activity there is reason to assert that so far the advantages of the method have not been fully exploited. In spite of the fact that today

considerably more time is available it is at the best an exchange between the study organizer and the person contacted (see figure 2).

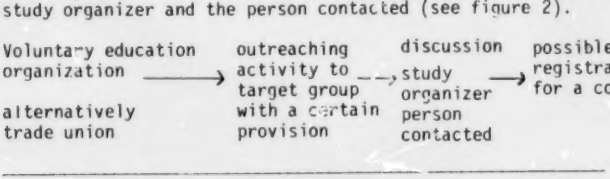
Voluntary education organization
alternatively trade union
outreaching activity to target group with a certain provision
discussion study organizer person contacted
possible registration for a course
Campaign period

Figure 2. Campaign model

However, in order to bring about changes in e.g. provision, organization etc., the outreaching activity must act as a two-way communication. The information the study organizer gets ought to be fed systematically into the organization and ought to build a foundation on which to evaluate the activity and consequent changes. The model ought really to look like in figure 3.

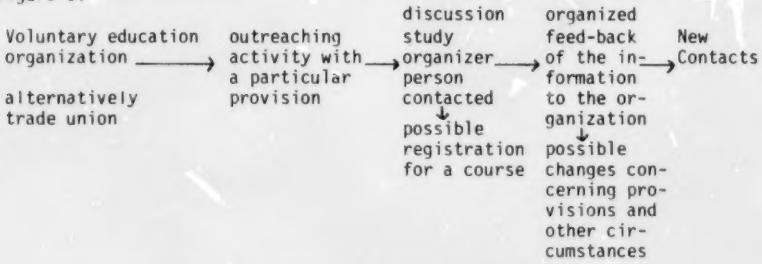
Voluntary education organization
alternatively trade union
outreaching activity with a particular provision
discussion study organizer person contacted
possible registration for a course
organized feed-back of the information to the organization
possible changes concerning provisions and other circumstances
New Contacts

Figure 3. Feed back model for outreaching activities

In the previous section I had a good deal to say about the relation between conditions at the work-place and the individual's study inclination. A two-way communication of the kind described here would increase the trade unions' possibilities of gaining deeper knowledge about the situation of the individual member and about his perception of the situation. This information can be used subsequently when deciding how to work towards the overall goals of redistributive policy by means of a combination of changes in working life and educational efforts. Here I can conceive an experimental activity organized as the FOVUX experiment with the stated purpose to combine changes in working life and educational efforts to reach the target group. In Sweden it might be possible to use the "Everyday learning project"[x] as a starting point for such an experiment.

The feed-back model presented above is of course not limited to outreaching activities at the work-place but is equally relevant to outreaching activities in housing areas.

---

[x] For a description of the project see Eliasson & Aström(1976), Eldh et al 1978).

DISCUSSION

During the seventies adult education has increasingly been seen as an integrated part of the educational policy. In spite of the heavy emphasis on the privileged groups the new possibilities have led to increased differences between as well as within generations. To correct the social bias of recruitment the need for positive discrimination in favour of the education[al] weakest has been stressed. The allocation effect of adult education will to a large degree depend on what changes can be made on the structural factors, especially in working life and study possibilities.

If the work tasks are organized in such a way that they make greater demands on new information, while simultaneously the individual is given considerable opportunities to influence his work situation, the possibilities increase that education should be experienced as something meaningful. It is important to point out that this does not only affect occupational education in the narrow sense but applies to education in general. By tradition the popular education is nonvocational. In order to work in the direction of the overall goal the voluntary adult education associations have to change their attitude. They must show an interest not only in liberal and union education but also to a higher extent develop programs that take the point of departure in the participant's current work situation. The so called occupational-related study-circles was proposed as one solution.

To bring about a change it is necessary that the future subsidies to adult education are ear-marked to a much larger extent than has previously been the case. This however requires one to express more exactly the group whose living condition should be equalized and deeper knowledge on the study methods and the content which can create allocation effects i.e. shape social, political, cultural and economic resources. This is a fundamental aspect which hitherto has not been the object of closer analysis. Thus, it is not enough to observe how recruitment totally changes without bearing in mind also the groups that choose a particular education. What, for example, has happened in Sweden during the great expansion which has taken place within voluntary educational associations during the latter years?

It may be of value here to refer to what has taken place in the educational explosion within secondary and higher education. The great increase of students was followed by a strong class based tracking within the respective systems (Karabel, 1972). Those from the upper social classes followed forms of education which "pays the best" in the form of e.g. income, status, occupation, political efficacy and related factors.

Turning back to the expansion in the Swedish voluntary educational association the increase has primarily been in aesthetic and civic circles. In the latter case this has partly been due to a greater increase in internal recruitment of those active in trade unions - an already relatively strong resource group. The aesthetic circles are of particular interest as this is the subject which dominates among the under-educated and furthermore the differences between groups with various levels of education are small. The crucial point is what the participant learns on the question of subject knowledge, possible communications and meta-learning[x)] (what the person learns about his own learning) and the resources which follow these.

[x)] For a discussion on these concepts see Lundgren (1979).

Departing from the discussion on the connection between learning and gaining of resources I would like to touch somewhat upon non-formal learning. All of the discussion in the paper has only been concerned with organized adult education. Allan Toughs research (Tough, 1971), which shows that, to a great extent, adults are engaged in non-formal learning, and the romantic wave on life-long learning, has brought people, outside the Nordic countries, to interest themselves more and more on non-formal learning.

Tough, going through the research within this field (1977, p 10) maintains

> "Liemstra's survey, like several others, has shattered some of our stereotypes about who does not participate in lifelong learning. If we study participation in adult education classes, clear differences show up between different populations. But that may partly occur because persons with high educational attainment have cause to believe that courses are more legitimate or effectiv than self-planned learning, whereas those who have had unhappy school experiences very intelligently refuse to repeat that experience and will learn on their own. Turning to participation in learning projects, though, most of these differences disappear."

There is every reason to be sceptical about this type of statement, which is often pronounced by advocates of the life-long learning. It is only when one analyses the qualitative side of non-formal learning, i.e. the resources which it gives the individual, that a comparison between organized - and non-formal education becomes interesting. An exciting research field appears here. Perhaps it is by confronting Nordic recruitment research with its strong emphasis on structural factors with the more idealistic and individual oriented attempts within life-long learning, that new knowledge can be gained?

REFERENCES

Bergsten, U. (1977). Adult education in relation to work and leisure. Stockholm. Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Broström, A. & Ekeroth, G. (1974). Utvärdering av försök med uppsökande verksamhet inom kommunal vuxenutbildning. Vt 1974 - Bakgrund, resultat och slutsatser. Rapport från SAMVUX projektet, Sociologiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet.

Broström, A. & Ekeroth, G. (1976). Uppsökande verksamhet inom vuxenutbildningen ur fördelningspolitiskt perspektiv. Rapport från SAMVUX-projektet. Sociologiska institutionen vid Uppsala universitet.

Broström, A. & Ekeroth, G. (1977). Vuxenutbildning och fördelningspolitik. Uppsala: Sociologiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet.

Brunner, E.S. m fl (1959). An overview of Adult Education Research. Chicago: Adult Education Association.

Bunnage, D. & Hedegaard, B. (1978). Voksenuddannelse. Köpenhamn: Socialforskningsinstituttet:81.

Carpens, L. & Mørch-Jacobsen, K. (1976). Rekrutteringen til fritidsundervisning for voksne i Danmark. Direktoratet for Folkeskolen, Folkeuplysning, Seminarier m v.

Eldh, C. m fl (1978). Vardagsinlärning några utgångspunkter. Brevskolan.

Eliasson, T. & Aström, B. (1976). Vuxenutbildning vardagsinlärning. Brevskolan.

Finstad, N. & Hansen, H. (1976). Voksenopplæring for hvem? Oslo: Tidens forlag AOF.

Gardell, B. (1976). Psykosociala problem sammanhängande med industriella produktionsprocesser. Psycho-social problems related to industrial production processes. In SOU 1976:3, Reports: Psycho-social Factors.

Haukaa, R. (1976). Kvinner of voksenopplæring. Arsaker till den selektive rekruttering. Oslo: Psykologiska institutt.

Johansson, L. & Ekerwald, H. (1976). Vuxenstudier och livssituation. Stockholm: Prisma.

Johansson, R. & Molander, L.-G. (1969). Vuxenstuderande 1968. Preliminär rapport. Pedagogiska institutionen. Uppsala universitet.

Karabel, J. (1972). Community Colleges and Social Stratification: Submerged Class Conflict in American Higher Education. From Harvard Educational Review 42. 521-562.

Karabel, J. & Halsey, A.H. Ed. (1977). Power and Ideology in Education. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kommittébetänkande 1975:28.

Kronobergsprojektet. (1977). Länsskolnämnden i Kronobergs Län.

Lehtonen, H. & Tuomisto, J. (1976). On the construction and applicability of an activation variable in the planning of adult education systems. Adult Education in Finland, 13, 3-4, 3-30.

Lehtonen, H. & Tuomisto, J. (1974). On the theoretical backgrounds of the adult education survey in Finland 1972-73. Adult Education in Finland, 11, 1, 13-19.

Lehtonen, H. & Tuomisto, J. (1975). Participation in adult education in Finland. Adult Education in Finland, 12, 1-2, 3-14.

Kallerud, B. (1977). Kvinner og voksenopplæring. Oslo: Institutt for sociologi, Universitet i Oslo.

Lekberg, E. & Lekberg, A. (1971). Vuxnas studiesituation. En intensivstudie vid Göteborgs stads vuxengymnasium. Pedagogiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet.

Lundahl, A. (1971). Fritid och rekreation. Låginkomstutredningen. Stockholm, Allmänna förlaget.

Lundgren, U. (1979). - Background; The Conceptual framework. In Lundgren, U. & Petterson, S. (ed) Code Context and curriculum processes. Stockholm: Studies in Education and Psychology. SIE.

Meissner, M. (1971). The long arm of the job: a study of work and leisure. Industrial Relations. 10, 239-260.

Molander, L.-G. (1973). Vuxna 1970. Erfarenheter och intresse av vuxenundervisning. Rapport från pedagogiska institutionen. Uppsala universitet.

Mørck-Jacobsen, K. (1979). Erfaring fra - og praksis i - forsøg med opsøgende virksomhed. Uddannelsesrådet for ungdoms- og voksenundervisning m.v.

Newcomb, T. (1950). Social psychology. New York: The Dryden press.

Ot. prp nr 7 (1975-76). Om lov om voksenopplæring.

Prop 1970:35.

Rubenson, K. (1975). Rekrytering till vuxenutbildning. Göteborg. Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Rubenson, K. (1976). Recruitment in Adult Education: A Research Strategy. Stockholm: Department of Educational Research.

Rubenson, K., Bergsten, U. & Bromsjö, B. (1977). Korttidsutbildades inställning till vuxenutbildning. Utbildningsforskning nr 26. Stockholm: Liber Läromedel/Utbidlningsförlaget.

SCB (1978). Levnadsförhållanden. Rapport 14. Utbildning, vuxenstudier förvärvsarbetande 1975.

Skard, Ø. (1977). The Implications for Recurrent Education of the Working Environment. Paris: CERI.

SOU 1974:54. Vidgad vuxenutbildning.

SOU 1977:92. Utbildning i företag, kommuner och landsting.

SÖ 1977-08-31. Om uppsökande verksamhet i bostadsområden 1976/77.

SÖ 1978-08-30. Rapport över försöksverksamhet med uppsökande verksamhet i bostadsområden budgetåren 1975--1978.

Tough, A. (1977). Major learning efforts: Recent research and future directions. Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

U 90, Undervisningsministret, 1978.